[Congressional Globe Report.]

The House, agreeably to order, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. No. 61) entitled "An act to protect all persons in the United States in their civil rights, and furnish the means of their vindication;" on which Mr. Wilson, of Iowa, was entitled to the floor.

the means of their vindication;" on which Mr. Wilson, of Iowa, was entitled to the floor.

Mr. Wilson, of Iowa. I yield thirty minutes of my time to the gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. Bingham.)

Mr. Bingham. Mr. Speaker, it may be said that the objections which I deem to be my duty to urge against the passage of the bill pending before the Home, apply to the instructions I have introduced by way of amendment to the pending motion to recommit; but I have this to say to gentlemen on the subject: Admitting that the objections do apply to the instructions which I have had the honor to submit by way of amendment to the pending motion, if the gentleman who reports the bill urges these objections against the instructions for its amendment, it is a confession, sir, on his part that this bill ought not to pass with or without amendment. The House, by recommitting with the instructions proposed, will not be concluded, but may finally reject the bill as amended, or reject the samendments proposed and substitute others which may be less objectionsble.

Mr. Speaker, on that subject I beg leave further to say, that although the objections which I urge against the bill must, in the very nature of the case, apply to the proposed instructions, I venture to say no candid man, no right-minded man, will deavy that by amending as proposed, the bill will be less oppressive, and therefore less objectionable. Doubting, as I do, the power of Congress to pass the bill, I urge the instructions with a view to take from the bill what seems to me its oppressive, and therefore less objections be me its oppressive, and therefore less objec

provisions.

Mr. Speaker, the instructions moved by me are these:

"Amend the motion to recommit by adding the

Mr. Speaker, the Instructions moved by me are these:

"Amend the motion to recommit by adding the following:

"With instructions to strike out of the first section the words 'and there shall be no discrimination in civil rights in any State or Territory of the United States on second of race, color, or previous condition of slavery,' and insert in the thirteenth line of the first section, after the word 'sight,' the words 'in every State and Territory of the United States.' Also, to strike out all parts of said bill which are penal, and which authorise criminal proceedings, and in lieu thereof to give to all citizens injured by denisd or violation of any of the other rights secured or protected by said act an action in the United States courts with double costs in all cases of recovery, without regard to the amount of damages; and also to secure to such persons the privilege of the writ of Asbeas cerpus.'

As I propose to take nothing for granted by favoring this amendment, but to submit this proposition in the least objectional form to the final decision of the Federal tribunals of the country, I beg leave to suggest to my honorable friend from lows, (Mr. Wilson, lwho knows me well enough to know that I make no captious objection to any legislation in favor of the rights of all before the law, to consider if this bill be recommitted, the propriety of providing therein for a final appeal of all questions of law arising under it to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Having said this much, Mr. Speaker, I proceed to present to the consideration of the House my objections to the bill. And first, I beg, gentlemen to consider that I do not oppose any legislation which is authorized by the Constitution of my country to enforce in its letter and in its spirit the bill of rights as embodied in that Constitution. I know that the enforcement of the bill of rights is the want of the Republic. I know if it had been enforced by good faith in every State of the Union the calamities and conflicts and crimes and sacrifice

Who can doubt this conclusion who considers the words of the Constitution; "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respect-ively, or to the people?" The Constitution ively, or to the people?' The Constitution does not delegate to the United States the

of this reserved power. I cast no reflection upon the honorable committee of this House in seeking to remedy, if possible, the great wrongs that have hitherto been inflicted upon citizens of the United States, I may say in almost every State of the Union, by State authority, and inflicted, too, in the past, with-out redress. I am with him in an earnest de-sire to have the hill of rights in very Coarts. sire to have the bill of rights in your Consti-tion enforced everywhere. But I ask that it be enforced in accordance with the Constitu-

tion of my country.

Has the Congress of the United States the power to pass and enforce the hill as it comes to us from the committee? Has the Congress of the United States the power to declare a this hill.

National Republican.

VOL. VI.

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., MONDAY MORNING, APRIL 2, 1866.

NO.107.

The Official Advertisements of all the Executive Departments of the Government are Published in this Paper by Authority of THE PRESIDENT.

SPEECH OF HON, JOHN A. BINGHAM, I deny that the Congress of the United States I deny that the Congress of the United States ever had the power or color of power to say that any man born within the jurisdiction of the United States, now owing a foreign allegiance, is not and shall not be a citizen of the United States. Citizenship is his birthright, and neither the Congress nor the States can justly or lawfully take it from him. But while this is admitted, can you declare by congressional enactment as to citizens of the United States within the States that there shall be no discrimination among them of hall be no discrimination among them of

shall be no discrimination among them of civil rights?

What are civil rights? I know the learning and ability of the honorable Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, [Mr. Wilson.] It was my good fortune to be associated with him two years on that important and responsible committee, and I take pleasure in bearing witness to-day to the integrity, fidelity and ability with which he discharged all his duties. I respectfully submit to that gentleman, that by all authority the term "civil rights," as used in this bill, does include and embrace every right that pertains to the citisens as such.

embrace every right that pertains to the citizens as such.

Why, sir, the very origin of the term "civil"
ought to satisfy gentlemen on this point, that
it has relation to the rights and all the rights
of the citizen. I submit that the term civil
right includes every right that pertains to the
citizen under the Constitution, laws, and Goverament of this country. The term "citizen"
has had a definite meaning among publicists
ever since the days of Aristotle. He interpreted and rendered that term to signify a
person who was a partner in the government
of the country. Under the Constitution of
the United States every natural born citizen
of the Republic is, in some sense, a partner
in the Government, although he may take no
active part in it. A distinction is taken, I
know very well, in modern times, between

the United States every natural born either of the Republic is, in some sense, a part of the Republic is, in some sense, a part of the Republic is, in some sense, a part of the Republic is, in some sense, a part of the Republic is, in some sense, a part of the Republic is, in some sense, a part of the Republic is, in some sense, a part of the Rate is a called the Government of the term 'political rights' is only a limitation of the term 'political rights' is only a limitation of the term 'civil rights,' and by general acceptation against that class of civil rights and institute of the United States from making any discrimitation of the United States. The alien is not a say, in yellow the common law are so exact in definition, uses in that classic of the law the terms 'civil liberty' and 'political liberty' everywhere as synonymous. It never occurred to him that there was a colorable distinction between them.

If civil rights has this extent, what then is proposed by the provision of the first section. It is not a discrimination on account of race or color in any of the civil rights of the civiten. I might say here, without the least feet of contrained the work of the son by the constitution of by its statute laws, make some discrimination or by its statute laws, make some discrimination or by its statute laws, make some discrimination or by its statute laws, in respect of civil rights on account of race or color braces of the Constitution of the State, which constitution of the Constitution of the State, which requires of the United States. By the Constitution of the constitution of the constitution of the state term of race or color braces of the Constitution of the Constitution of the first section of freedmen in their rights for the United States.

By the Constitution of my own State, either the right of the elective franchise of office, according to all the other authorities, is a civil right, and in my appinon. The constitution of the State, which requires the most of the Constitution of the State, which r

in the first section as an obligatory require-ment. I have no time to undertake to discuss that question, but I submit that it is as much obligatory as any other clause of the section. The clause is imperative. It is in the language of law. Its provides that—

'There shall be no discrimination in civil rights or immunities among citizens of the United States n any State or Territory of the United States occumn of race, color or previous condition of sin-

does not delegate to the United States the power to punish offences against the life, liberty or property of the citizen in the States, nor does it prohibit that power to the States, but leaves it as the reserved power of the States, but leaves it as the reserved power of the States, to be by them exercised. The prohibitions of power by the Constitution to the States are express probibitions, as that no State shall enter into any treaty, &c., or omit bills of credit, or pass any bill of attainder, &c. The Constitution does not prohibit States from the enactment of laws for the general government of the people within their respective limits.

Mr. Speaker, I would further remark in this connection, I honor the mover of this bill for the purpose he seeks to attain, which is to compel the exercise in good faith by the States of the gentleman may be in presenting this penal provision of the section. rime. This is the further provision of the

first section:

law, statute, ordinance, regulation or custom, to me from the committee? Has the Congress of the United States the power to declare, as this bill does declare, in the words which I propose to strike out, that there shall be no discrimination of civil rights among citizens of the United States in any State of the United States in any State of the United States in any State of the United States on account of race, color, or previous condition of slavery?

I find no fault with the introductory clause, which is simply declaratory of what is written in the Constitution, that every human being born within the jurisdiction of the United States, or previous and previous of power, but by an arbitrary assumption of power, but by an among form of previous that it is a confession by solor than the constitution of the United States, or previous and determine? It was a confession by solor within the jurisdiction of the United States, or previous and section of the United States, or previous of power in the future. In states of purents not owing allegiance to any forcign sovereignty is, in the language of your Constitution itself, a natural-born citizen, but, sir, I may be allowed to say further, that

"That any person who, under color of any law,

"That any person who, under solo? of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, shall subjected any inhabitant [citizen] of any State or Territory to the deprivation of any right secured or protected by this set, or to different punishment, pains or penalties on account of such person having at any time been held in a condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, excepts a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, or by reason of his selor or race, than is prescribed for the punishment of white persons, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemanor, and in conviction shall be punished by a fine met exceeding \$1,000, or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both."

Mr. Speaker, the word "inhabitant" is printed in the second section in mistake for "citizen." I say this upon the suggestion of the chairman of the committee. If this is to be the language of the bill, by enacting it we are not committing the terrible enormity of distinguishing here in the laws in respect to life, liberty, and property, between the citizen and stranger within our gates! Do we not thereby declare the States may discriminate in the administration of justice for the protection of life against the stranger irrespective of race or color?

Sir, that is forbidden by the Constitution of your country. The great men who made that instrument, when they undertook to make provision, by limitations upon the power of this Government, for the security of the universal rights of man, abolished the marrow and limited phrase of the old Magna Charta of five hundred years ago, which gave the protection of the haw only to "free men," and inserted in its stead the more comprehensive words "no person," thereby obeying that higher law given by a voice, out of a heaven: "Ye shall have the same law for the stranger as for one of your own country." Thus, in respect to life, and liberty, and projectly, the people, by their Constitution, declared the equality of all man, and by express limitation forbade the Government of the Uni

ire-to bill was in these terms:

The jurisdiction conferred by this and the pre-"The jurisdiction conterred by this and the pre-ceding section on the officers and agents of this bu-reau shall cease and determine whenever the dis-crimination on account of which it is conterred ceases, and in no event to be exercised in any Flats in which the ordinary course of judicial pro-ceedings has not been interrupted by the rebellion, or immunities among citizens of the United States, on in any State or Territory of the United States, on second of race, color or previous condition of six every.

That is an obligatory as any other portion of the section. If it is not obligatory, what

This jurisdiction shall cease, and in no event This jurisdiction shall cease, and in no event be exercised in any State, after said State shall have been fully restored in all its constitutional relations to the United States. What was that but a solemn declaration by the Senate and House of Representatives to the whole world that during the insurrectionary condition of the States we have the power, and the duty rests upon us, to enforce these rights of person and citizes to helpid for and the duty rests upon us, to enforce these rights of person and citizen, in behalf not only of these freedmen, but of refugees, and of all men within the limits of the insurrectionary district, by the establishment of this extraordinary bureau of justice known as the Freedmen's Bureau? What was it but the solemn conviction and declaration of Congress that with the restoration of those States to their constitutional relations, and the secondary of the secondar first section:

"And such citizens, of every race and color without regard to any previous condition of elarge or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been allowed to their constitutional relations, and the central control of the country freedment and property, and to full and convey real and personal property, and to full and equal beacht of all laws and processings for the security of persons and property, as is sujoyed by white citizens, and shall be rubject to the punishment, pains and penalties, and to none other, any law, statute, ordinance, regulation or custom, the contrary natwithstanding."

I saw, with all my heart, that that should the contract of the course of justice the contrary natwithstanding."

districts during the time of insurfection, and The Position of the President

districts during the time of insurrection, and until the duly organized State Governments were restored for the protection of life, liberty and property to all unen alike. Hence, sind standing by that bill, I hold it up this day before the House as a point-blank condemnator over States duly organized, and enstaining their full counse such point-blank condemnator over States duly organized, and enstaining their full counstitutional relation to the Government of the United States, and in which the country are not "disturbed or stopped in the peaceful course of justice."

This brings me, sir, to the closing remark which I propose to make on this subject, and that is this: That in the language of the country in the language of the country in the language of states, and none than once to quote upon this foor, in the hearing of some of those with now honor me with their attention, in time of war, whether it be civil of roferige war, the public safety becomes the highest law; and tribunals of States and institutions of States, to use his own terse words. "go by the hourd of or the time being." The whole of States, to use his own terse words. "go by the hourd of or the time being." The ward words are opened; when her white-robed winsisters are only to be administered under the Countries. The ward words of the cutters, under the soles are of the property, the liberty, and white him to be a supposed to the continuous of the words of the cutters, under the soles are of the property, the liberty and by the corner of the pone (and the property of the continuous of the cutters, under the continuous of the continuous of the continuous

I hold, sir, that our Constitution never conferred upon the Congress of the United States the power-sacred as life is, first as it is before all other rights which pertain to man on this side of the grave—to protect it in time of neace by the terrors of the penal code within organized States; and Congress has never attempted to do it., There never was a law upon the United States statute-book to punish the murderer for taking away in time of of peace the life of the noblest and the most unoffending as well, of your citizens, within the limits of any State of the Union. The protection of the citizen in that respect was left to the respective States, and there the power is to-day. What you cannot do by direction you cannot do by indirection.

To show that I am not mistaken on this subject, I desire to read the language of one

To show that I am not missaven on this subject, I desire to read the language of one of rhose grand intellects who during life illustrated the jurisprudence of our country, and has left in his works a perpetual moniment of his genius, his learning, and his wisdom. I read from the text of Chancellor Kent: dom. I read from the text of Chancell Kent: "The judicial power of the United States is

lame. The most outrageous charges are nade openly against the President on the

conducted, are vitally antagonistical, and that, like flint and steel, fire will fly every

that, the fine and steel, are will by every time they come in contact.

What clief Justice is frank and outspoken in his opinions. He believes that the Presi-dent is hone-st and patriotic but that he started wrong in his work of restoration or reconstruction, that having builded upon an intensity foundation, his superstructure, his

untenable foundation, his superstructure, his policy, must fail and fall. Mr. Chase feels a

President to issue a proclamation recog

robed States, black

zing all persons in the

"The judicial power of the United States is necessarily limited to unitonal objects. The was field of the law of property, the very extensive head of equity jurisdiction, the principal rights and doties which flow from our civil and domestic relations full within the control, and we might almost say the exclusive cognizance of the State government. We look essentially to the State government. We look essentially to the State courts for protection to all these momentous interests. They touch, in their operation, every chord of human sympathy, and control our best destinies. It is their provide to reward and to punish. Their blessings and their terrors will accompany us to the fireside, and be inconstant activity before the public eye. "—I Kent, Lecture 10, sec. 446.

Sir. I have always so learned our dum was

Sir, I have always so learned our dual sy Sir, I have always so learned our dual system of Government by which our American nationality and liberty have been established and maintained. I have always believed that the protection in time of peace within the States of all the rights of person and citizen was of the powers reserved to the States. And so I still believe.

Now, what does this bill propose? To reform the whole civil and criminal code of every State government by declaring that there shall be no discrimination between eithers of the states.

there shall be no discrimination between en-zens on account of race or color in civil rights or in penalties prescribed by their laws. I humbly how before the majesty of justice, as I how before the majesty of that God whose attribute it is, and therefore declare there should be no such inequality or discrimina-tion even in the penalties for crime, but what power have you to correct it? That is the

You further say that in the courts of jutice of the several States there shall, as to the qualifications of witnesses, be no discrimina-tion on account of race or color. I agree that, as to persons who appreciate the oblig tion of an oath—and no others should be po-mitted to testify—there should be no su

t sions great truths are evolved, and thereafter stands revealed and imperishable. Much carnest work has been done by many earnest men to harmonize Congress and the President. Some think it will yet be accomplished, and that while the Union men in Congress may differ with the Union President in the means to accomplish the great end, yet the end sought to be accomplished by both is the same; that they are travelling on converging lines; that the Union President and the Union Congress both seek the unity and the highest good of the whole country—the protection of every man within the shadow of its banners in his inalicable, Godgiven rights—eventually the equality of all men before the law, and the wielding of the whole majesty and power of our Government in the elevation, culture and progress of our people, and the development of the uncomprehended resources and limitless wealth of our vast domains. Others think the executive and legislative brunches, as now conducted, are vitally antagenisted, and but the first and steal fire will be one. is rimination.

But whence do you derive power to cure y a congressional enactment se no discrimination among citizens of the United States in the several States, of like United States in the several States, of the sex, age, and condition, in regard to the franchises of office. But such a discrimination does exist in nearly every State. How do you propose to cure all this? By a congressional canctinent? How? Not by saying, in so many words, which would be the bold and direct way of meeting this issue, that every discrimination of this kind whether that every discrimination of this kind, whethe existing in State constitution or State law is hereby abolished. You propose to make it a penul offence for the judges of the State to obey the Constitution and laws of the States, and for their obedience thereto to States, and for their obedience thereto punish them by fine and imprisonment felons. I deny your power to do this. You cannot make an official act, done under color of law, and without criminal intent and from

sense of public duty, a crime. [Here the hammer fell.]

Stress brought home the other night a fine, good sized cribbage board, made of black walnut, with good sized holes awaily bored, and some nice pega. "There," says he to his wife, who was reading the paper, "this is a decent kind of a board." "Marie is that, Pa?" imprired a young ren. "A crib board, my boy, and a good thing it is in apank you board, my boy, and a good thing it is in apank you beard, my boy, and a good thing it is in spank you with when you are naughty, it will leave all the prints." "Prints of what" inquired Mrs. Snipps, looking over her paper. "Prints of wholes, (Prince of Wales,) quielly replied Mr. Snipps, Mrs. Snipps resumed her reading...she didn't see it.

The trial of Major Gee, at Raieigh, North Caro-lina, has been in progress shout thirty days. The court adjourned last Monday, but will be resumed again on Monday next.

The Haugur (Maine) White says the Hon. S. E. Spring, of Portland, Maine, is named as the next Republican candidate for Governor of that State.

GES. JEFF. C. DAVIS succeeds Gen. Palmer in command of the Department of Kentucky.

good way shead, and under no circum plan, at first, seemed to strike Mr. Johnson will exercise his power to put men us with great force; he did not dissent from it. Soon after, Mr. Chase left on his visit to the Southern States, and Mr. Johnson asked him to advise him, from time to time, of what he issue and learned, which he did. It is believed in all his measures and policy. In all his measures and policy. In a last in the polity is a policy. In a string with a gentleman the after that the policy is a string with a gentleman the after the string with a gentleman the after the policy.

to advise him, from time to time, of what he saw and learned, which he did. It is believed that, after this hadvise and comused of Mr. Chase, and after his departure for the South, had and designing men got the ear and confidence of the President, and poisoned him against Mr. Chase, and led him to distrust his counsel, charging that the Chief Justice had given him this advice for his own personal ends; that he was an aspirant for the Presidency, and that, to follow this advice, would be to weaken him, (the President, rather than to give him strength.

Mr. Chase does not think that Congress and the President will ever harmonize. He thinks that the President man to the power to destroy the Union party; that one man, as he expressed it, however elevated his position, fills but a small space in a nation or in a great party; and that the Union party, at this time, embodies the intelligence and consideration. Straton strangle comes between the President wall the Cabinet, not to yield an inch, for that the Seuset would thin to the Cabinet and the President was a struggle comes which Mr. Sherman holds here. No member so find great party; and that the Union party, at this time, embodies the intelligence and convexition, fills but a small space in a nation or in a great party; and that the Union party, at this time, embodies the intelligence and endanger of the Cabinet, not to yield an inch, for that the Seuset would thin the Union party, at this time, embodies the intelligence and endanger of the Cabinet, not to yield an inch, for that the Seuset would thin the Union party, at this time, embodies the intelligence and endanger in the first of the Tresident was a satingle comes to yield an inch, for that the Seuset would thin to the persident was a struggle comes to yield an inch, for that the Seuset would thin to the persident was a struggle comes of the Cabinet, and the President was a struggle comes in that body that Department the Cabinet and the President was a struggle between Congress and the President; did all he

made openly against the President on the streets, and by the clerks in the Departments, "Andy Johnson is as great a traifor," exclaims one, "as Jeff, Davis." Another exclaims, "Hes drunk half the time, and don't know what he's doing." A third, "He's had the delirium tremens—he sees smakes."

Then, on the other hand, with flushing eye and burning cheeks, the President is warmly, carnestly and intelligently defended. To these charges they respond, "You're a d—al fool; there isn't a pure, truer man on this carnestly and intelligently defended. To these charges they respond, "You're ad—defeol; there isn't a pure, truer man on this earth than Andrew Johnson." "Did he segaliantly battle these traitors for five years, yea, all his life, to turn traitor now?" "Show me where, in a single instance, he has gone back on any principle or sentiment he has gone back on any principle or sentiment he has his gle act of his that is untrue to the country or the party that elected him." "Admit that had take, yet even in that, where is the some place to represent the party that elected him." "Admit that had take, yet even in that, where is the some of this country do not, or at the time of his case, yet even in that, where is the some of this country do not, or at the time of his felton did not, indorse?" And all the crowd keep silence.

It is a Babel of opinion here—a political chans. No two prominent men think alike. Congress is very weak and powerloss, because of the Southern country, and just speech. It is a label of opinion here—a political chans. No two prominent men think alike. Congress is very weak and powerloss, because of the southern country, and just speech of the southern country, and just heady. It is true that much good results the country of the secretion, the relations of the Southern country, and it is a Babel of opinion here—a political chans. No two prominent men think alike. Congress is very weak and powerloss, because of the southern country, and just ment of the southern country, and just ment of the southern country, and the individual of the southern country, and the individual of the southern country, and the foundation of our form of Government, and that the relations of the Southern country, and the inalienable and imperishable speech and the country of the southern country, was something of a statesm was something of a statesman, as well as a divine, said that in every Government there divine, said that in every Government there were two classes of men—those who always believed in and hoped for the very best, and those who always despaired of any good and feared the worst; and that the truth was about half way between the two. I belong the state of the salvation of his country my reason, judgment, and experience, and my trust in God, all, lead me to believe that the welfare of the people depend upon it.

However much we may differ from him in bidgment, we can but admire his Sparian beingment, we can but admire his Sparian my trust in God, all lead me to believe that this nation is but entering upon her great and glorious career. I have a firm faith in an over-ruling Providence that will bring us through this centest as it did through the stringgle of arms just closed."

Mr. Dennison. Postmaster General, sees everything conletin de rose; believes that Congress and the President will nurmonize that just at this time there is a dark cloud in the political horizon which casts sombre shadows upon political affaire; but, with the eye of hope, he penetrates beyond this cloud and sees the sun of trainiph lighting up the

shadows upon political affairs; but, with the states and the people thereof shall not eye of hepe, he penetrates beyond this cloud and sees the sun of triumph lighting up the view. He does not behave that the President intends or desires to separate from the Union party, but that the present contest is something like the Wade and Davis attack nound in Lincoln, with the exception that Mr. Johnson does not show the wisdom and equanionity, manifested by Mr. Lincoln in his contest. He helicuses that Mr. Johnson the sequally pure, true and pairform, and desires very expressive that mix and hermonic area in Congress, and care the people thereof shall not be said something for the people thereof shall not be and successful the people thereof shall not be actively upon the General Government.

Second—That the States have the right to determine for themselves the qualification of voters, and that the States have the right to determine for themselves the qualification of voters, and that the States have the right to determine for themselves the qualification of voters, and that the States have the right to determine for themselves the qualification of voters, and that the States have the right to determine for themselves the qualification of voters, and that the General Government can me more interfere with that right in South Carolina than in Massachusetts.

Third—That the States have the right to determine for themselves the qualification of voters, and that the General Government can be more interfere with that the General Government can be more interfere with that the General Government can be more interfere.

Third—That the States have the right to determine for themselves the qualification of voters, and that the General Government can be more interfere with that the General Government can be more interfere.

Third—That the States have the right to determine the voters and that the General Government is considered to the states have the call the states have the right to determine the voters and that the General Gov is equally pure, true and patriote, and desires very earnestly that unity and barmony may speedily come. He desires to remain in his present place, and will work to maintain harmony and to keep that place; but the speedily come are speedily come. He desires to remain in his present place, and will work to maintain harmony and to keep that place; but may be put down as a fixed fact, that wherever the President goes Mr. Dennison will always be found within the lines of the Union party. Mr. Dennison is gentlemanly and yielding, to a fault, but underlying all this softness and placidity there is a granite strate that is genuine and true, and that can always be trusted. policy, must fail and fall. Mr. Chase feels a warm personal friendship for the President, and feels a deep sympathy for him in the trials and labors that are upon him. He would be glad to consult with the President, and aid him in the solution of these difficult questions but the President does not seek his advice, and probably districts him, and he therefore cannot volunteer his opinions or sail.

and. When this question of reconstruction first came up, Mr. Chase had a long interciew and consultation with the President upon the subject, or, rather, several long interviews; and he then carnestly and persistently urged in the carnestly and persistently urged ways be trusted.

NR. SPEED, ATTORNEY GENERAL.

s unqualifically with the Radicals of Co is unquainfiedly with the Radicals of Congress on the question of negro suffrage, and opposed to the policy of the President. Mr. Speed is discreet in the expression of his opinions; does not unnecessarily harass or oppose the President, but stands firmly by his convic-tions of what he believes to be the true prin-solds in this contrast. and white, as citizens, having equal rights in the work of reconstruction; that this procla-mation would immortalize him as the pro-lamation of emancipation will immortalize Mr. Lincoln; and that it would be a fitting ciples in this contest.

Mr. Secretary Stanton is reticent, looks a

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good way shead, and under no circumstances will exercise his power to put men untrue to the Union party or to the country into place and power. He is staunch and true, but politic; is inclined to stand by and go with the President, but does not agree with him in all his measures and policy. In a conversation with a gentleman the other day he said: "I cannot promise you this action for the future; my tenure of office is uncertain; a change may take place and carry. I could not remain here, and would have be required to make any appointments, or to sid in sny act contrary to my principles and convertions."

In that body than John Sherman has. He is conversed to the cold, corrupt and disloyal plannest young men of our country attaching themselves to this old, corrupt and disloyal plannest young men of our country attaching themselves to this old, corrupt and disloyal plannest young men of our country attaching themselves to this old, corrupt and disloyal plannest young men of our country in the thinks him impractical, and that his course is accomplishing no good to the race he seeks to serve; that he arouses against them a mitted antagenism and life-cling; that he is a domineering, intolerant man; that Mr. Stevens is as better and more practical man than Mr. Summer that Summer would lead to destruction any party that followed huntred his comment of the country and the control of the country are all that if we cannot seeme at one all that they could be left to them. "Why do you not not as mediator in this contest, and try to save our great party?" was said to him. "I would be glad to act as mediator if I could, but no man has his policy and theories from which he will never swerve; Congress is an unwieldy, unyelfurge he had all things will come out well. He does not believe that this was has been fought, the country saved, and these millions made free, for the nature of the properties of the country saved, and these millions made free, for the nature of the properties of the country saved, and they condition that they are from their past history and life, acting as we must expect they would not now to be destroyed, or another than they are from their past history and life, acting as we must expect they would not the president that it was stoned to the present at any of the contribution and they are from their past history and life, acting as we must expect they would not an another than they are from their past history and life, acting as we must expect they would not the president that they are from their past history and life, acting as we must expect they would not be executed by the president in his policy. He b

Fourth—He does not necessed in the states doctrine of "States Spiciale."

Fifth—He is opposed to negro suffrage at this time; thinks they are unfitted for, and have not the requisite capacity to intelligently exercise that sacred yet dangerous privilege.

exercise that secred yet dangerous privilege, any conclusion.

Congress and the President will never harmonize. They will remain assumer and divided even unto the end.

It is immaterial how this separation is caused—the result is equally dangerous in its consequences to the party in power. It may be charged, on one side, that the President has switched off the party track, and on the [Continued on Fourth Fag.]